The number of animals not treated is explained by their distance from M...; they belonged mainly to the nomadic Gujur population. This concerns about 3355 people. The drugs etc left with the villagers were enough for 15000 adult animals. They were therefore all used.

Flocks from outside the valley which benefited from the services of the M... team (their owners having come in to get the medicaments).

Valley of origin	Number of flocks	Total number
Ch...	1	125
S...	6	360
N...	2	120
D...	8	320
Ch...	9	540
D...	12	600
		2065

The owners learned about the possibility of getting medicaments at M... either through the work of the BIA team the year before, or because their valleys adjoin (Ch... and D... with N... and M...)

2 Cattle

According to treatments given by the same team at M.., about 282 families were concerned, the others having no cattle.

Wintering place	Animals treated	Average no per family	Ethnic group
M...	243	4 - 5	N + G
Upper M..	180	4 - 5)	
	144	4)	G
S...	460	5	N + P
G..., O...	144	12	P
N..., A...,	58	11-12	P
H...,	285	6)	
G...,	20	5)	N + G
TOTAL	1534		

The herds of cattle vary in size but the average family herd is a pair of plough oxen, 3 milch cows, a heifer and a first year calf. The biggest herds belong to the owners settled half-way up the valley, at O... & G..., where they can be 25 head.

E WORK OF THE BIA TEAM IN THE FIRST WEEKS OF THE 1987 MISSION

1 Re-launch of the market-gardening programme

Distribution of seed: in complete sets for the commanders on the left bank and the neighbouring markaz; individual allocations to peasants in the valley and nearby. Stocks almost exhausted and need renewing for the autumn distribution.

Phyto-sanitary treatment against pests of seedlings: cutworm, caterpillars, mole-crickets.
Estimate of acreage underway.

Introduction of potatoes in two ways:
(a) 200 kg of selected seed potatoes, to demonstrate the techniques of cultivation and get a crop in September 1987:
(b) potato-seed; an advanced technique used for the first time in Afghanistan under the direct personal responsibility of a BIA technician, on a rented plot. Too delicate to be entrusted to a local farmer. Object, to produce a large number of "granule" potatoes.

These mini-tubers will be distributed for planting in spring 1988 thus saving the prohibitive cost of transporting an equivalent number of ordinary seed-potatoes from Pakistan: 100 grammes (3½ oz) of seed = 250 to 350 kg of mini-tubers in the first year = a crop of up to 3500 kg for consumption in the second year.

This action was undertaken with advice from the Swiss Potato Development project at Islamabad.

2 Other Work

- Construction of a scratch-plough drawn by a single ox. The prototype is being improved.

- Setting up a nursery. Production of chestnut seedlings: the climate and soil exactly correspond to the usual geo-climatic habitat of this tree of varied uses (human and animal food; forest species for woodwork). Planting-out of 2 year rooted saplings imported from Europe; they all took.

- Construction of a salting-tub. Salting down a young goat, with excellent results. The meat was eaten de-salted and boiled (with appetite and interest.) Experiment to be repeated after the hot weather.

Setting up a network of representatives of the local communities (hamlets, isolated settlements, settled homogeneous ethnic groups). All work in a given sector must at present pass through these delegates (distribution of seed, veterinary treatment). As spokesmen for their groups, they are responsible for material allotted to them (hand pumps etc.) and, being literate, they keep a very simple register of activities from which data are collected each time stocks are removed or an operation launched. 12 unpaid persons.

- Recruitment of local assistants (not the same as the above) responsible for keeping the project going in the absence of the BIA team (autumn/winter). They supervise the work of the Community representatives, receive and distribute material from Pakistan, and maintain contact by letter with the BIA Peshawa office. When the BIA team are present, they accompany them on their rounds and act as interpreters for local languages (Nuristani and Gujur). 3 persons, paid 1000 rupees a month each.

- The checking of the use of cereal seed distributed in 1986 (wheat) and assessment of results was done by an Afghan team.

- Estimation of yields was done by an agronomist member of the mission.

F IMMEDIATE PROSPECTS

- Spraying of the Gujur population's maize fields against pests.

- Meetings with local representatives of the neighbouring district and active discussion of the phyto-sanitary treatments.

- Estimate of yields at harvest times.

Trials of:

- Sowing of maize in rows with drills donated by J Braud.

- Plough drawn by a single ox.

- Cultural techniques in potato fields (treatments etc)

- Making contact with people of surrounding valleys.

- Treatment on animals in Spring (May 15 th) before the departure in transhumance.

Paris, July 1st 1987

A THE HUMAN BACKGROUND

The project is in M... and district. The village of M... comprises a group of about 10 houses round the mosque, and scattered dwellings up to 45 minutes' walk from the mosque. Rather over 20 houses altogether are inhabited in winter.

The population is 90% Nuristani with some Pushtuns and Gujurs; the former are closely integrated, even assimilated, and the latter less so.

In spite of its reduced size, M... is the mainspring of the valley, being the only intact village and retaining its traditional structure and institutions. The function was formerly shared by the village assemblies of S... and H...

1) Social pattern

Two groups, not necessarily antagonistic, make up M... society.

a) The big landowners

The term is strictly relative, because the biggest holding is not more than 4 hectares (10 acres). Ownership is always joint and the holdings are worked in association between brothers (married or single) sometimes under the direction of their father.

Land is divided between the upper and lower "communes"; detailed allocation is much sub-divided, from the valley bottom to half-way up.

Some of these owners have the highest plots worked by a family (generally Pushtun) of share-croppers, who also have their own livestock (15 to 30 goats).

Example: Composition of a leading family

Aziz Mohammed (35), his wife, 3 children (2 boys and a young daughter). He lives with his parents and can speak and write Pushtu and Farsi, and has done military service at Jalalabad (1973-74).
He owns a water-mill and 3½ hectares (8½ acres) of land, divided into 4 widely separated lots.
He had 2 brothers: Rafig Jan, with 2 wives and 4 children, who is in charge of the family livestock (110 goats and 6 cows).
His other brother, who was unmarried, had been killed in action.
Aziz has a farm-hand, Momajan, who works the most distant plot. He has a wife and 6 children, and lives with 17 goats and 2 cows.

The highest educational level is generally found in such families, with at least one or two people able to read and write and speaking Pushtu and Farsi as well as their native Nuristani.

There has never been a school at M... and apart from the presence of a mullah who taught a few boys 15 years ago, there are three reasons why the group in question looks outward:

1 A less precarious livelihood and the possibility of undertaking certain non-agricultural activities, for example, the two shopkeepers and the smith.

2 Military service, the malik, Nur Mohammed, at G..., and Aziz at Jalalabad.

3 Intermarriage with Pushtun families of M..., B... and Ch..., which are transit and change-over centres. Some of these Pushtun families are quite influential or are among the following of a regional notable.

In this connexion, it is interesting that it is mainly M... girls who are married to Pushtuns. Now Nuristanis regard such alliances as the introduction of a piece (the son-in-law) into the family mosaic. Pushtun families thus brought in form a significant bridge between M... and the outside world. In present circumstances these special links are of the first importance because the main Resistance leaders in Kunar are all Pushtuns. This arises from the traditional role of the Pushtun tribes and the strategic layout of their establishments. Since over 80% of the Pushtun population have emigrated, they can offer their relatives shelter, supplies and personal weapons in the Bajaur region of Pakistan.

b) <u>Minor landowners</u>

This second group comprises people whose agricultural incomes are considerably smaller than those of the first group (working 1 - 1½ hectares, 2½ - 3½ acres). In such cases, livestock are the deciding element in the family economy. They also set the pattern of life. The shortage of resources has hitherto tended to cause an exodus to distant provinces or to towns: Jalalabad, Logar, Laghman , even Kunduz and Mazar-e Sharif. Few returned home. The to-and-fro of nomadic migration periodically cuts off the members of these families from village life as they moved to very remote districts of Upper Nuristan.

The exodus to other provinces cuts them off even more completely from the local scene, and when the exiles return after an absence of several years, because the war has destroyed the chance of getting work in the great farming districts, they are as it were kept at arm's length from village problems and take no part in the decisions of village meetings. It is interesting that they nevertheless prefer to return to their families rather than go to Pakistan where they have no families or ethnic groups they could join. They thus form a dead weight and an extra burden.

So these families, not very numerous and having little economic weight, can only go willy-nilly along with the course set by the families of the first group.

However, the leading families have flocks and herds which are no smaller than those of the other group. The person (brother) in charge of these livestock is also subject to the constraints and way of life which they impose, is no better off and usually remains illiterate. The strength of the "well-off" families is mainly based on the fact that they can keep almost all family members together.

2 The local political background

Any rivalries within the village are thus between families which have a claim to leadership relying on external Pushtun patronage (by marriage) which gives them influence and, since the war began, a source of supply for goods and arms.

Such rivalry exists at M... and is shown by membership of the political Resistance groups to which related Pushtun clans belong: in this case, Ahmed Gailani's Mahaz-e Melli and Yunus Khales' Hezb-e Islami.

The Mahaz-linked group is undoubtedly the more active, and almost all the families in it live in the village centre and are thus more easily perceived. It is undoubtedly also the group with the better patronage. Paradoxically, this is probably because the Mahaz-e Melli has a lesser presence in the Kunar than the Khales Hezb.

In practice M..., in Hezb-e Islami eyes, is only a handful of members in a backwater, far from the usual scene of military operations. But this party is at present developing an offensive policy and a large programme of attacking and harassing government bases which is orchestrated by very senior leaders from other regions of Afghanistan. M... is therefore lost in the much wider picture of general problems of the Kunar.

The Mahaz-e Melli, for their part, do not have the means for a very large scale local policy, and therefore concentrate on maintaining and if possible strengthening their strongholds. They thus have a much more paternalist policy. This is evident at M... to which one important regional representative of the party, who is related in various ways to certain village families, devotes a particular attention and influence. It is obvious in this case that considerations of personal reputation, even "vote-catching" are not unconnected with this solicitousness.

B THE PROJECT IN THE SETTING OF M...

Being unable to work in the Pushtun area because it had been so depopulated, we were obliged to set up the project by working through the patronage mentioned above.

It is no part of the ideas of BIA, nor of its missions in the field, to aspire to change anything whatsoever in the functioning or structure of social patterns, the work being above all one of education and training. Its first aim is to identify as soon as possible local elements which will be able to take over and carry on the project, through the traditional workings and practices of the social structure concerned.

In so divided, complex and unstable a situation, it seemed to us sensible to put our money on a central core of persons which was already formed and seemed to be the most dynamic. Since it was introduced by a Mahaze-e Melli commander, it was doubtless not by chance that the group belonged to that party. So far, our choice seems satisfactory enough, in that our main contacts and associates at M... are doing what we want: acting as a lead group, and gradually drawing the valley along with them. The reasons why the valley follows their example hardly matter: self-interest, of course, jealousy, covetousness, various rivalries..

Be that as it may, given our reception and apart from our personal commitment, we can hardly let them down and can exploit their motivation to the long-term advantage of the project. This idea has already been accepted and lay behind the winter's work.

Subsequently, the idea of a programme extended to the whole valley should gain ground. Here too the receiving group have perceived their own interest and found in it a way of reinforcing their position... and the neighbours have felt concerned.

The third stage should see the appearance of similar teams representing other groups up and down the valley; teams with a different combination of ethnic groups (Pushtuns and Gujurs) and of a different political shade.

This phase was beginning in May 1987. It lets us out of a major risk, that of depending exclusively on one party. This would be disastrous, given the constellation of parties in Kunar province.

For the time being, the existing set-up is developing favourably, but is still very fragile in so far as it is very much affected by the commander who introduced us and is based on a few active elements in the village of M... On the result of this stage will depend the success or failure of the project.

C JOURNEY AND INSTALLATION AT M...

1 Diary

5 April
Arrival of Kunar team:
Olivier Cosse, agronomic engineer
Xavier Bouan, agriculturalist

10 April
Arrival of Daniel Yurt, Swiss agronomic engineer, project assistant and representing Freies Afghanistan Schweiz.

17 April
Departure of the team for M..., accompanied by Alain de Bures to set up the mission.

20 April
Arrival and installation at M...

16 May
Departure of Daniel Yurt for health reasons.a

1 June:
Alain de Bures returns to Peshawar
Xavier Bouan in charge at M...

5 June
Daniel Yurt returns to M...

2 Journey and installation at M...

Journey in easy conditions but the cost of labour (porters) was very high: 150 rupees for 5 kg to M... (compared with 33 RS at the same season last year). We had 980 kg.

Warmly welcomed by the population. The house used last year had been repaired, cleaned and made ready 3 or 4 days beforehand.

For security reasons, 2 mujahedin known to the team were recruited and put on the project's payroll, and are thus directly responsible only to the team leader.

D ASSESSMENT OF WORK LEFT TO LOCAL INITIATIVE IN THE ABSENCE OF THE MISSION (Autumn-Winter)

1 Market-gardening

Hitherto embryonic (less than 4 sq metres, 40 sq feet, 1-5 families) and only done in Summer. Last winter market-gardening became an essential and was kept up in the cold weather: Cabbages, turnips, pumpkins for immediate consumption; production of beds of onions (sown in autumn) and of tomatoes, aubergines, and peppers (sown in spring). These plots have now become general practice, and larger (10 to 100 sq.m., 350 - 3500 sq feet, in some cases, 18-20 families, survey made in M... village) and their use for market-gardening is confirmed so that they are better prepared; separate beds for each variety, anti-chicken fences, attempts at seed production, removal of adventitious trees.

This interest in market-gardening was encouraged by the distribution of seed in autumn.

Results at the outset of the 1987 season

- Having been sown in the first fine weather, vegetables will come into production 1 - 1½ months earlier in comparison with those sown the preceding year on the left bank (at O... B...).

- A craze for the production of onions (25% of the area sown to vegetables) with the first harvests at the end of May (eaten fresh).

- Production of tomato, aubergine and sweet pepper plants for pricking out, which enabled the people of the high valley to establish vegetable-gardens too. (Above 2000 m the warm season is too short to ripen crops naturally.) One thus gains time in germination and sprouting to assist flowering and ripening. Gardens have appeared among the Gujars of B.-Ch... and Ch... (2 - 10 families, against none in the previous year).

- Of the harvest of about 250 kg of white beans (from 20 kg) 60 kg were kept for seed (about 2 kg for each family who had grown beans the previous year). Sowing was in spring in the vegetable-gardens in order to be able to sow again in August in the same ground and also in open fields. The production of local seed from this imported European variety was thus accelerated in response to demand from an area much larger than the valley.

- Rapid exhaustion of the stock of seed which ran out in less than a month (further supply expected in summer for distribution in autumn).

Two growers in M..., fearing that the mission would not resume its work this year, had attempted to produce cabbage and onion seed.

2 Cultivation of potatoes

Logistics, but also the development of the military situation, in the vicinity of government posts, prevented us from going to see what had happened to potato cultivation on the left bank (O... B...)

According to the commander who received Bernard and Henri in 1986 and directed our caravan towards M... this year, the seed potatoes had different results according to the plots where they were sown. Where all the conditions were right, production was satisfactory: 120 kg for 10 kg sown.

This restricted experiment was enough to convince the most far-sighted of the commanders in the sector and gave rise to a specific request from them for seed potatoes in 1987. 100 kg of selected seed were obtained through the Palkistan Swiss Potato Development Project (see, below, the report on the PDT programme in 1987)

The increase of military pressure on the upper Kunar and especially on the left bank of the river means that all indicatives in this zone now only come from the Resistance commanders.

3 Animal Husbandry

1) Smaller livestock: goats and a few sheep.
The veterinary drugs team, two people from M..., proceeded as arranged to treat animals on their return from summer pasture (late September) before the campaign against lungworm disease and liver fluke.

According to the records kept by the Afghan team doing this work, most of the flocks wintering near the village were treated directly.

Stock-raisers coming from further afield were provided with drugs so that they could give treatment themselves - after it had been explained to them how and under what conditions to apply the drugs.

RESULTS OF THE AUTUMN-WINTER TREATMENT SEASON 1986

Place where flock wintered	No of flock-owning families	No of families living on one flock	No of families involved in treatments	Total of animals	Animals treated	Ethnic group
M... +district	74	2	74	3246	3246	N + G
Upper M... M....Kh..., B...	40	2	30	3016	2262	G
Upper M... A..., Ch...	36	3	27	2701	2026	G
S... & district (S..., K...)	92	2	92	7362	7362	N & P
G..., O... (summer grazing at Ch...)	12	1	7	720	432	P
N & district P... + A...	5	1	5	250	about 250	P
H...(no detail of exact place)	47	2-3	13	2375	642	N & G
G...	6	3	3	300	80	N & G
TOTAL	312		249	19970	16300	

Note:

P = Pushtuns
N = Nuristanis
G = Gujurs

THE KUNAR MISSION 1987

Preliminary report 1 July 1987

Afghanistan Aid Foundation (NL)
(Afghanistan Vrij)

Afghanistankomiteen i Norge (N)

Bureau International Afghanistan (F)

Comité d'Aide aux Agriculteurs du Kounar (F)

Comité Genevois (CH)

CCFD (F)

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Solidarités internationales (F)

Swedish Committee (S)

Swiss Aid (CH)

Terre des Hommes (F)

Ministère des Affaires Etrangères (F)

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NOTE

This is not the final report. It simply sums up the conditions in which the 1987 project was set up at M...

It also reports on the results produced by the people of M... during the winter, when they took over the project.

<u>SUMMARY</u>

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1) Social pattern
2) Local political background

B THE PROJECT IN THIS SETTING

C JOURNEY AND INSTALLATION AT M...

1) Diary
2) Journey and installation

D ASSESSMENT OF WORK LEFT TO LOCAL INITIATIVE IN THE ABSENCE OF THE MISSION (Autumn and Winter)

1) Market gardening
2) Potatoes
3) Primal husbandry
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E ACTION OF BIA TEAM IN THE FIRST FEW WEEKS OF THE MISSION

1) Re-launch of market-gardening programme
2) Other activities

F IMMEDIATE PROSPECTS